

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 KIGALI 370

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, RW
SUBJECT: PARM - ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT - PART I

REF: CERP 0001

PART I - POLICY ASSESSMENT

A. U.S. INTERESTS IN RWANDA

OUR LONG-TERM INTERESTS HERE ARE LIMITED, BUT NOT NEGLIGIBLE. THEY ARE FIRST OF ALL HUMANITARIAN AND DEVELOPMENTAL, GIVEN RWANDA'S PLACE AMONG WORLD'S SIX POOREST NATIONS AND ITS HIGH POPULATION GROWTH RATE. BUT AS U.S. CONCERN FOR FUTURE OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA GROWS, OUR POLITICAL INTEREST IN A MODERATE, WESTERN-ORIENTED RWANDA WILL GROW LIKEWISE. THUS:

(1) CONCERN FOR POOREST NATIONS - ALTHOUGH GLOSSED OVER IN S/P AND AF POLICY PAPERS, CONGRESSIONAL MANDATE REQUIRING GREATER ASSISTANCE TO NATIONS AND PEOPLES AT BOTTOM OF DEVELOPMENT LADDER IS ESPECIALLY PERTINENT TO RWANDA AND WOULD SEEM TO DEFINE PRIMARY U.S. INTEREST HERE. IMPOVERISHED, UNDERFED, AND OVERPOPULATED, RWANDA DEPENDS UTTERLY ON FOREIGN GRANT AID AND SOFT LOANS, MOSTLY WESTERN
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EUROPEAN, FOR DEVELOPMENT RESOURCES. U.S. NOW TAGS ALONG IN JUNIOR PARTNER ROLE. HOWEVER, IF S/P PROJECTION OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AHEAD FOR WESTERN EUROPE IS BORNE OUT, U.S. WILL FACE PRESSURE TO ASSUME GREATER SHARE OF BURDEN.

(2) POPULATION GROWTH VERSUS FOOD SHORTAGES - AT 3 PERCENT PLUS, RWANDA'S POPULATION IS AMONG WORLD'S FASTEST

GROWING; AND AT 560 PER SQ. MILE ARABLE LAND, IT IS AFRICA'S MOST DENSE. AS PRESSURES ON LAND INCREASE, PER CAPITA FOOD PRODUCTION IS DECLINING. UNLESS THESE TRENDS ARE CHECKED (AND GOR IS ONLY BEGINNING TO THINK ABOUT POPULATION CHECKS), PRESSURES WILL BECOME POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY EXPLOSIVE WITHIN NEXT DECADE, LIKELY UNDERMINING RWANDA'S CURRENTLY MODERATE STANCE ON REGIONAL POLITICAL, RACIAL, AND NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES.

(3) HUMAN RIGHTS, ETHNIC MINORITIES - ALTHOUGH NEARLY 20 YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE HUTU MAJORITY OVERTHREW TUTSI RULERS IN BLOODY REVOLUTION, ETHNIC TENSIONS REMAIN JUST BELOW SURFACE. TENSIONS ARE EXACERBATED BY WORRIES OVER TUTSI RULE IN NEIGHBORING BURUNDI AND PERCEIVED THREAT FROM TUTSI REFUGEES ALONG OTHER BORDERS (TANZANIA, ZAIRE, UGANDA). PRESENT GOR MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD CALMING PASSIONS, REINTEGRATING MINORITY, AND MENDING FENCES. BUT CONFLICT HAS BEEN FUELED IN PAST BY OUTSIDERS (NOTABLY CHINESE) AND MIGHT BE AGAIN. IF RWANDA'S MODERATES FAIL, TUTSI HUMAN RIGHTS WILL SUFFER AND GOR STANCE ON MINORITIES ELSEWHERE (ESP. SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES) WILL HARDEN.

(4) REGIONAL STABILITY, PEACEFUL CHANGE - RWANDA'S VOICE IN REGIONAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS HAS NEVER BEEN LOUD, BUT ITS MODERATE TONES HAVE BEEN AND CONTINUE TO BE HELPFUL FROM OUR STANDPOINT (MOST RECENTLY IN ANGOLA AND UGANDA). PRESENT GOR POLICY OF "OUVERTURE" AIMS AT ENDING RWANDA'S LONG POLITICAL ISOLATION AND AT WINNING AT LEAST A MINOR LEADERSHIP ROLE, BUT IT ALSO EXPOSES RWANDA TO EFFECTS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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INSTABILITY GROWING ON ALL SIDES. TO RESIST THESE, GOR SEEKS GREATER MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM WESTERN FRIENDS, INCLUDING U.S., PROMISING A TEST OF OUR DETERMINATION TO REDUCE CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS AND AT SAME TIME ENCOURAGE AFRICAN MODERATES.

(5) WORLD ORDER

(A) POLITICAL - ON KEY U.N. ISSUES -- NOTABLY KOREA, GUAM, MIDEAST -- RWANDA'S VOTING RECORD HAS BEEN SINGULARLY UNHELPFUL. ALTHOUGH PROFESSING ITSELF STAUNCHLY PRO-WESTERN AND NON-COMMUNIST, GOR UNDERVALUES GLOBAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ITS VOTES AND REGULARLY TRADES THEM FOR BILATERAL AID (FROM LIBYA, DPRK, PRC) OR FOR REGIONAL "RESPECTABILITY". USG HAS ALSO BEEN REMISS IN FAILING TO LOBBY IN TIME FOR RWANDAN VOTES (E.G., GUAM).

(B) ECONOMIC - GOR TAKES MORE SERIOUS (IF NO MORE HELPFUL) VIEW OF CIEC, NIEO, AND OTHER NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, AS IT IS DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY MANY: DESPERATELY LANDLOCKED; A PETROLEUM MSA; DEPENDENT ON FLUCTUATING COMMODITY EARNINGS

AND PRIMITIVE AGRICULTURE; AMONG "INNER SIX" ON POVERTY INDEX. NOT YET STRIDENT, ITS VOICE MAY BECOME MORE SO AS THESE ISSUES HEAT UP DIALOGUE.

(C) WE HAVE LATELY MADE SOME PROGRESS IN PERSUADING RWANDANS TO TAKE U.S. VIEWS AND EFFORTS AT COOPERATION MORE INTO ACCOUNT ON THESE ISSUES. BUT WITH HEAVY MULTI-LATERAL AGENDA AND POSSIBLY REFORMS AHEAD, WE CAN EXPECT CONTINUED DIFFICULTY IN SECURING RWANDAN VOTES TO MATCH GOR "FRIENDLINESS."

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B. OVERVIEW

NEXT COUPLE OF YEARS WILL BRING WORSENING OF RWANDA'S PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS -- FOOD SHORTAGES, POPULATION PRESSURES, RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS -- BUT RECENTLY-HEIGHTENED RWANDAN PERCEPTIONS OF THESE PROBLEMS WILL OPEN NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR ADDRESSING THEM EFFECTIVELY. GOR WANTS AND BELIEVES IT CAN COUNT ON GREATER U.S. SUPPORT IN THIS REGARD, AND ITS CURRENT ATTEMPTS TO WIN FAVOR WITH NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL LIKELY CONTINUE FOR AWHILE LONGER. THIS "HONEYMOON" PERIOD WILL GIVE US RENEWED OPPORTUNITY TO ADVANCE OUR OWN INTERESTS (WHICH LARGELY PARALLEL RWANDANS') BUT WILL REQUIRE A MORE RAPID, EFFECTIVE, AND TANGIBLE RESPONSE TO GOR OVERTURES THAN WE HAVE MADE SO FAR.

- PROBLEM OF GROWING ENOUGH FOOD TO FEED RWANDA'S EXPLODING POPULATION WILL SURELY WORSEN, AS SOIL CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE, ARABLE LANDS GROW MORE CROWDED, AND GOVERNMENTAL "REFORMS" AT FIRST CONFUSE PEASANT MASSES THEY ARE INTENDED TO HELP. BUT AS FOOD SHORTAGES BEGIN TO ASSUME CHRONIC, CYCLICAL CHARACTER BOTH GOR AND FOREIGN DONORS ARE TURNING

MORE ATTENTION AND RESOURCES TOWARD INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION.
WITH ITS MODEST FOOD STORAGE AND MARKETING PROGRAM, U.S. HAS
LED THE WAY IN FOOD SECTOR AND GAINED DISPROPORTIONATE
RECOGNITION; ITS LEADERSHIP WILL BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE.
PROGRAM POSSIBILITIES SUITED TO U.S. INTERESTS ABOUND, AND
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RESOURCES APPEAR TO BE AVAILABLE. BUT GETTING IT ALL
TOGETHER EXPEDITIOUSLY WILL POSE CHALLENGES FOR SMALL U.S.
MISSION.

- UNCONTROLLED POPULATION GROWTH LIES AT CORE OF RWANDAN
PROBLEMS AS WELL AS U.S. CONCERNS HERE. POPULATION DENSITY
IS ALREADY HIGHEST IN AFRICA AND GROWTH RATE SHOWS NO SIGN
OF SLOWING. AS WITH FOOD PROBLEM, HOWEVER, GOR IS GROWING
MORE AWARE THAT DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS MUST BE DEALT WITH DESPITE
TRADITIONAL AND RELIGIOUS TABOOS. DEBATES AND FIRST
HESITANT STEPS PROMISE GREATER ACTIVITY NEXT YEAR OR TWO.
SO FAR, OUTSIDE HELP HAS NOT BEEN SOUGHT, BUT WE MUST
ENCOURAGE THIS POSSIBILITY AND BE READY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE
OF ANY OPPORTUNITIES.

-PRES. HABYARIMANA'S POLICY OF "OUVERTURE" HAS
EFFECTIVELY ENDED RWANDA'S POLITICAL ISOLATION FROM AFRICAN
REGIONAL COMMUNITY, AND INCREASINGLY INTENSIVE CONTACTS WITH
NEIGHBORS ARE IN STORE FOR RWANDA IN NEXT TWO YEARS. NOW
PRESIDENT OF OCAM, HABYARIMANA HIMSELF IS LIKELY TO SEEK
OTHER LEADERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES (E.G., HIS INTERVENTION WITH
IDI AMIN ON BEHALF OF AMCITS). "OUVERTURE" RUNS TWO WAYS,
HOWEVER, AND GOR WILL FACE GROWING EFFECTS OF INSTABILITY
AND ANIMOSITIES AMONG THOSE SAME AFRICAN NEIGHBORS. IT IS
LIKELY TO GROW MORE WORRIED ABOUT SOVIET/CUBAN INROADS,
MILITARY BUILD-UPS IN BURUNDI AND UGANDA, KENYA AFTER KENYATTA,
DISSIDENCE IN EASTERN ZAIRE, AND RWANDAN TUTSI REFUGEE
ACTIVITIES. ITS RESPONSE -- FOR SHORT TERM AT LEAST --
WILL AIM AT STRENGTHENING TIES WITH OTHER AFRICAN MODERATES,
WEST EUROPEANS, AND U.S., AND AT OBTAINING GREATER MILITARY
ASSISTANCE FROM THESE QUARTERS. ITS FALL-BACK MAY BE TO SEEK
SUCH AID FROM LIBYA, PRC, AND NORTH KOREA, WHO ALREADY ENJOY
RWANDAN GRATITUDE FOR DEVELOPMENT AID. WE WILL BE HARD
PRESSED TO ASSURE GOR THAT WE VALUE ITS MODERATING INFLUENCE
AND SHARE ITS CONCERN OVER TREND TOWARD RADICALISM AND
VIOLENCE, WHILE INSISTING THAT STABLE SOLUTIONS MUST COME
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FROM PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS RATHER THAN NEW ARMS TRANSFERS.

IN ADDITION TO ABOVE PROBLEM AREAS, TRENDS ON TWO OTHER FRONTS WILL CONTINUE TO INTEREST U.S.: (A) HUMAN RIGHTS AND TREATMENT OF ETHNIC MINORITIES, AND (B) GOR VOTING HABITS IN WORLD FORUMS. IN BOTH CASES, WE FORESEE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS OVER NEXT TWO YEARS. WHILE HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD OF HABYARIMANA GOVERNMENT BY NO MEANS SPOTLESS, IT IS BETTER THAN MOST IN AFRICA, AND GOR EVIDENTLY MEANS TO TAKE LEAD IN FOSTERING HR CONCERN AMONG ITS NEIGHBORS. AT HOME, THOUGH ETHNIC TENSIONS REMAIN TINDER-DRY, GOR CONTINUES TO PURSUE REASONABLY ENLIGHTENED REINTEGRATION AND QUOTA POLICIES TOWARD MINORITY TUTSIS. MAIN WORRIES ARE THAT HARD-LINE ANTI-TUTSIS COULD GAIN UPPER HAND IF HABYARIMANA'S HOLD ONTO POWER WEAKENS, OR THAT ETHNIC TENSIONS COULD BE IGNITED BY OUTSIDERS.

GOR VOTING RECORD AT U.N., ABYSMAL DURING 30TH UNGA, IMPROVED SOMEWHAT DURING 31ST (THANKS PARTLY TO FEWER CONFRONTATIONAL ISSUES) AND SEEMS HEADED IN RIGHT DIRECTION. WE BELIEVE THAT GOR HAS FINALLY BECOME ALARMED AT OUR DIVERGENCE IN U.N. AND OTHER FORUMS, ESPECIALLY GIVEN ITS SECURITY WORRIES AND DESIRE FOR WESTERN SUPPORT, AND THAT IT INTENDS TO CORRECT THAT RECORD. IT WILL NOT TURN 180 DEGREES, HOWEVER, AND MUCH CAREFUL CULTIVATING -- BOTH DIPLOMATIC AND INFORMATIONAL -- WILL BE REQUIRED ON OUR PART AND THAT OF OUR USDEL COLLEAGUES TO ENCOURAGE THIS TREND.

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FINALLY, WE FORESEE INEXORABLE TREND TOWARD HIGHER U.S. PROFILE IN RWANDA AND GREATER FOCUS OF RWANDAN ATTENTION ON U.S. ALTHOUGH PARTLY RESULT OF EXPANDING AID/PC PROGRAMS,

TREND WILL BE ACCELERATED BY WEAKENING BELGIAN PRESENCE HERE DUE TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AT HOME AND DETERMINATION TO DISENGAGE FROM MILITARY SUPPORT ROLE. IT WILL ALSO RESULT FROM GREATER U.S. ACTIVISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND OUR EVENTUAL RESPONSE TO SOVIET/CUBAN INTRUSIONS. THIS UNAVOIDABLE SPOTLIGHT ON U.S. WILL REQUIRE SUBSTANTIAL UPGRADING OF OUR INFORMATIONAL ACTIVITIES, TOGETHER WITH MAJOR PHYSICAL PLANT IMPROVEMENTS.

C. OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION, AND ISSUES

WE IDENTIFY FIVE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES IN RWANDA, KEYED TO U.S. INTERESTS LISTED ABOVE:

(1) INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION - UNLESS RWANDA FINDS WAYS TO COVER ITS GROWING FOOD DEFICIT, SOCIA-ECONOMIC STRAINS WILL UNDERMINE ITS PROGRESS ON ALL OTHER FRONTS.

(2) EFFECTIVE STEPS TO CHECK POPULATION GROWTH - INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION BY ITSELF WILL NOT BE SUFFICIENT TO FEND OFF DEMOGRAPHIC DISASTER FACING RWANDA, AND AN EFFECTIVE GOR POPULATION POLICY MUST BE ADOPTED,

(3) GREATER GOR UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION ON
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GLOBAL ISSUES - RWANDA SHOWS SIGNS OF WISHING TO IMPROVE COOPERATION IN IO FORUMS, BUT MORE TIMELY CONSULTING AND CULTIVATING WILL BE REQUIRED ON OUR PART.

(4) CONTINUED RWANDAN MODERATION ON AFRICAN REGIONAL MATTERS - GOR SEEMS LIKELY TO PLAY MORE ACTIVE REGIONAL ROLE. IT MUST BE ENCOURAGED TO REMAIN ON HELPFUL, MODERATE TRACK AND DISCOURAGED FROM MILITARY COMPETITION WITH BURUNDI.

(5) PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND TUTSI REINTEGRATION - PRESENT TRENDS ARE HOPEFUL, BUT ETHNIC TENSIONS LIE JUST BELOW SURFACE. INCREASED U.S. SUPPORT FOR RWANDAN DEVELOPMENT WILL ALLOW US SOME LEVERAGE TO FOSTER PROGRESS, AND UPGRADED INFORMATIONAL ACTIVITY WILL HELP IMPRESS OUR OWN VIEWS ON GOR LEADERSHIP.

IN PURSUIT OF THESE OBJECTIVES, WE PROPOSE FOLLOWING COURSES OF ACTION (NUMBERS IN PARENTHESES INDICATE OBJECTIVES TO WHICH EACH COURSE IS ADDRESSED):

(1) EXPAND PRESENT FOOD STORAGE AND MARKETING PROJECT BUFFER STOCK CAPACITY TO APPROX. TEN THOUSAND TONS, TO MAXIMIZE PRICE STABILIZATION LEVERAGE AND THEREBY ENCOURAGE GREATER PRODUCTION OF FOOD CROPS (1,3,5,).

(2) INITIATE PILOT PROJECT TO CONSTRUCT SMALL FOOD STORAGE SILOS AT LOCAL LEVEL, TO REDUCE CROP LOSS AND ENCOURAGE SAVINGS (1, 3, 5).

(3) INVEST NEW AID AND PEACE CORPS RESOURCES IN IMPROVING VOCATIONAL, AGRICULTURAL, AND RURAL HEALTH TRAINING FACILITIES, TO PERMIT DISSEMINATION OF MORE EFFECTIVE FARMING

AND FAMILY PLANNING TECHNIQUES AT LOCAL LEVELS (1, 2, 5).

(4) CONTINUE SELF-HELP AND POPULATION FUND ACTIVITIES AT PRESENT LEVELS, BUT REFOCUS EMPHASIS ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND MCH, AND INTEGRATE WHERE POSSIBLE WITH PC, AID, AND PRIVATE AGENCY RESOURCES (1, 2, 5).

(5) ESTABLISH TECHNICAL RESOURCE LIBRARY WITHIN U.S. CULTURAL CENTER TO INCREASE AVAILABILITY OF DOCUMENTS, FILMS, AND TRAINING TOOLS PERTINENT TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT (1, 2, 5).
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(6) MAKE BOLDER DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO IMPRESS DECISION-MAKING RWANDANS WITH NEED FOR EFFECTIVE POPULATION PLANNING MEASURES (BELGIANS HAVE ALREADY TAKEN LEAD, AND WE HAVE FOLLOWED WITH APPROACH TO PRES. HABYARIMANA) (2, 4, 5).

(7) IN EVENT GOR OPENS DOOR TO OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE, BE PREPARED TO OFFER SUBSTANTIAL AID RESOURCES FOR NATIONAL CENSUS, PILOT CHILD-SPACING PROJECTS, AND MCH CENTERS (2, 5).

(8) REORGANIZE AND REVAMP CULTURAL CENTER ACTIVITIES, AND HIRE COMPETENT NEW LOCAL DIRECTOR, TO GIVE MORE DIRECT AND DYNAMIC SUPPORT TO U.S. OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMS (1,2,3,4,5,).

(9) REFINE AND AUGMENT DIPLOMATIC/PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES FOR ASSURING FLOW OF SELECTED INFORMATION ON U.S. POLICIES, ACTIONS, AND VALUES TO GOR DECISION-MAKERS AND RWANDAN ELITE (2,3,4, 5).

(10) THROUGH OCCASIONAL PRIVATE MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT FROM WASHINGTON, RECOGNIZE AND SUPPORT RWANDA'S MODERATE LINE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ITS CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS ON REGIONAL PROBLEMS ELSEWHERE (OCAM, OAU) (3,4).

(11) ENCOURAGE RESTRAINT AND MODERATION IN RWANDA-BURUNDI RELATIONS, SEEKING TO PERSUADE BOTH GOVTS TO LIMIT ARMS ACQUISITIONS (4, 5).

(12) EXAMINE POSSIBILITIES FOR LENDING MATERIAL SUPPORT TO TRIPARTITE (RWANDA-BURUNDI-ZAIRE) "GREAT LAKES ECONOMIC COMMUNITY" AS MEANS OF STRENGTHENING REGIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (1, 4, 5).

(13) THROUGH DIPLOMATIC AND INFORMATIONAL MEANS, EMPHASIZE TO RWANDAN OFFICIALS AND ELITE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED BY USG TO RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND CONVEY CLEARER PICTURE OF U.S. CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ELSEWHERE, ESPECIALLY IN WHITE-RULED SOUTHERN AFRICA (1, 3, 5).

(14) DESIGN EM ASSY ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT SYSTEM TO HANDLE BURDEN OF PROJECTED INCREASES IN PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING NEXT THREE YEARS--HOUSING, TRANSPORT, MAINTENANCE, STOCKS, FURNISHINGS, SERVICES (1, 2, 3, 4, 5).

(15) WITH FBO, PLAN AND INITIATE CHANCERY RELOCATION AND CULTURAL CENTER MODERNIZATION WITHIN THREE YEARS IN
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SUPPORT OF ABOVE COURSES OF ACTION (1,2,3,4,5).
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